



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Office of Legislative Liaison

Washington, D. C. 20505

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TO: Mr. Richard M. Pena
House Foreign Affairs Committee
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Dick:

Enclosed, per your request, please find
release of study entitled, "FSLN As An
Especially Favored Revolutionary Democratic
Party--How the Soviets View the FSLN."

Liaison Division
Office of Legislative Liaison

Enclosure

FORM 3-79 **1533** OBSOLETE
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LD/OLL [] pap (11 January 85)

I. The FSLN as an Especially Favored "Revolutionary Democratic" Party

The Soviets have openly classified Nicaragua as a "country of socialist orientation" from at least early 1982 onward.¹ "Countries of Socialist orientation" are said to differ from communist countries in that they have not left "the world capitalist system," even though the national economy in the majority of them is dominated by the state.² Also, "countries of socialist orientation" are ruled by "revolutionary democratic" parites, said by the Soviets to differ from communist parties in that they reflect multi-class interests and fail to have a uniformly cohesive doctrine and discipline.³

In discussions of "revolutionary democratic" parties, Soviet writers single out for special attention an elite sub-category thereof which they term "vanguard". These "vanguard revolutionary democratic" parties have stricter class and ideological requirements for membership than do the others and have openly declared their commitment to "scientific socialism" (as the Soviets term Moscow's brand of communism).⁴ The Soviets have come close to describing the FSLN as "vanguard" party: both in April 1982, Yu. V. Irkhin in Problems of History stated that the FSLN was developing into the "vanguard" category⁵ and Vadim V. Zagladin's World Communist Movement acknowledged that that party had developed a program based on the "creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Nicaragua".⁶ One of the captured Grenadan documents spells it out even more when it stated that the FSLN, like the New Jewel Movement, was "committed to the application of Marxist-Leninist principles in the construction of scientific socialism".⁷

B. These same nine parties, incidentally, led off the list of 19 "revolutionary democratic" ones published by the status conscious Soviets as having arrived for the Andropov funeral in February 1984.⁹

II. The FSLN as a Communist Party Substitute

Soon after its coming to power in July 1979, the FSLN took over the external representation function formerly exercised by the pro-Soviet communist party of the country, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN). The last international activity noted by the PSN was its participation in signing a September 1979 document of the "communist parties of Mexico, Central America, and Panama" entitled "The Defense of the New Nicaragua".¹⁰ It was the FSLN rather than the PSN which represented

Nicaragua at the February 1981 26th CPSU Congress (at which it was one of the ten "revolutionary democratic" parties allowed to address the main session).¹¹ This situation is somewhat unique in that in other "revolutionary democracies" having pre-existing communist parties (e.g., Algeria and Syria), the latter continue to operate internationally along with their respective countries' ruling parties. Most revealing of all, however, was the fact that the FSLN was the only officially non-communist party to attend the July 1984 South American communist parties meeting in Buenos Aires.¹²

An apparent domestic parallel to all this was found on the occasion of the 12th (and last) PSN Congress of July 1981. At that meeting one Sandinista leader with seemingly no PSN connection gave the keynote speech and another gave what appeared to have been the most important discourse thereat.¹³ Again, this was apparently a unique situation.

Covert documents of Grenada's New Jewel Movement, the other openly characterized "revolutionary democratic" party in Latin America while in power,¹⁴ revealed that that the working level at least the Soviets privately regarded that party as an outright communist one.¹⁵ Incidentally, it is of interest that these documents reveal that the Cubans, in advising the Grenadan leaders in how to handle the "difficult" religious situation in their country, suggested that they get in touch with those Nicaraguan clerical and lay leaders who were pushing "liberation theology".¹⁶

III. The FSLN and the Fronts

The Soviet-line international communist fronts exist to promote Soviet foreign policy objectives. Though overt communists play important roles in such organization, their credibility is enhanced and, in fact, their purpose fulfilled by having very visible non-communists ostensibly taking the lead therein.¹⁷ The Sandinistas, the international support of whose government is one of the current front themes,¹⁸ should and do play a major role here, as can be seen by the following:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Positions of Sandinistas Involved</u>
A. <u>Worldwide Fronts</u>	
World Peace Council (WPC)	Vice President Olga AVILES Lopez Presidium member Roberto ARGUELLO Hurtado (Supreme Court president) Presidium member Ernesto CARDENAL Martinez (culture minister) Presidium member Doris TIJERINO Haslam

World Federation of Trade
Unions (WFTU)

Council members Lucio JIMINEZ Guzman
(secretary general) and Francisco
Jose GONZALES (international
secretary) of the Sandinista
Workers Center

International Organization
Journalists (IOJ)

Vice President Juan MOLINA Palacios

International Association
of Democratic Lawyers (IADL)

Vice President Gloria GABUARDI

B. Regional Fronts

Federation of Latin America
Journalists (FELAP)

Secretary General Daniel Aguirre
Solis

Continental Christian Peace
Conference in Latin America
and the Caribbean (CPC-LAC)

Executive Committeeman Ernesto
CARDENAL Martinez (see above)

Latin American Continental
Students Organization (OCLEA)

Secretary Danilo PEREZ

Latin American Association
for Human Rights (ALDHU)

Directive Councilman Ernesto
CARDENAL Martinez (see above)

Anti-Imperialist Tribunal
of Our America (TANA)

Co-Executive Secretary Luis
CALDERA

Continental Front of
Women (FCM)

Coordinator Doris TIJERINO
Haslam (see above)

Conclusions

From the Soviet standpoint, Nicaragua is merely a "country of
socialist orientation," for as of 1983 only 20 per cent of its aid was
accounted for by the communist Bloc and the local economy was only 40
per cent nationalized. This would appear to be exactly what the
Soviets want. To go further along the communist way economically

(preponderant reliance on the Bloc for trade and aid and total or near-total nationalization) would be something hardly desirable from the Soviet standpoint. Could the Russians afford another Cuba? Would they want to run the risk of provoking an unfavorable Western political reaction thereby?

Politically, the trick for the Soviets appears to be to ensure total Nicaraguan compliance with their foreign policy objectives, the internal conversion of the FSLN leadership to communism, and the gradual elimination of non-Sandinista power centers while at the same time having the Nicaraguans maintain the facade of a pluralistic and somewhat free society. The secret Grenada documents showed that the leaders of the New Jewel Movement at least were fully aware of the necessity for such a facade and for that specific reason did such things as maintaining membership in the Socialist International and placing moderates in ostensibly key positions (which, however, actually carried no political weight).²¹ Such action makes sense so that the United States Government will not be provoked into "precipitous" action and so that the political support of the world's moderate Leftists (with attendant economic benefits as well) will be maintained. An aspect of this latter is the greater influence of Sandinistas in the international communist fronts because of their being "non-communists".

As far as the ideological development of the party goes, it is assumed that future FSLN leaders are being trained in Moscow's Institute of Social Sciences (school for non-Bloc communists) and in its Cuban equivalent, the Nico Lopez School. Again, the Grenadan documents revealed that 14 New Jewel Movement trainees attended the Soviet school for a six-month course during November 1982-May 1983 and that plans were afoot for sending a contingent to the Cuban school as well.²²

FOOTNOTES

- 1 V. V. Zagladin (ed.), The World Communist Movement (Moscow: 1982) trans. JPRS-UPS-84-034-L, p. 359 (OUO)
- 2 A. Kiva, "Sotsialisticheskaya orientatsiya, Nekotorie problemy teorii i praktiki," Mirovaya ekonomika; mezhdunarodnyye otrosheniya (Moscow), No. 10, October 1976, p. 23
- 3 V. V. Zagladin (ed.), The International Communist Movement: Sketch of Strategy and Tactics (Moscow: 1972), trans. JPRS-57044, p. 255; A. Kiva, "Countries of Socialist orientation: Some Aspects of Their Political Development," International Affairs (Moscow), October 1973, p. 32; V. G. Solododnikov et. al. (eds.), Political Parties of Africa (Moscow: 1970), trans. JPRS-52950, pp. 169-170; G. Shakhnazarov, "On the Problem of Correlation of Forces in the World," Kommunist (Moscow), No. 3, February 1974, trans. JPRS-61776, p. 100.
- 4 Veniamin Chirkin (article unstated), Asia and Africa Today (Moscow, English edition), No. 4, July-August 1981, carried in JPRS-79176; Vl. Li, "Social Revolution in Afro-Asian countries and Scientific Socialism," Africa and Asia Today (Moscow, Russian Edition), No. 3, March 1981, trans. JPRS-78507, p. 12.
- 5 Yu. V. Irkhin, "Revolutionary Vanguard Parties of Working People in Liberated Countries," Problems of History (Moscow), No. 4, April 1982, trans. JPRS-L/10615, p. 6; (OUO)
- 6 V. V. Zagladin (ed.), The World Communist Movement, op. cit., p. 318 (OUO)
- 7 Michael Ledeen and Herbert Romerstein (eds.), The Grenada Documents: an Overview and Selection (Washington: 1984), p. 38-4
- 8
- 9 Pravda (Moscow), 14 February 1984
- 10 Information Bulletin (Prague), 23/1979, pp. 62-64
- 11 Wallace Spaulding, "Checklist of the 'National Liberation Movement,'" Problems of Communism (Washington), March-April 1982, p. 78. These ten were the ruling parties of Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, the Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Syria, and South Yemen--with the exception of the Congo, the nine that received the secret CPSU letter of July 1983 (see above).

- 12 New Age (New Delhi), 12 August 1984. The FSLN and the Cuba Communist Party were the only two non-South American groups present and thus technically "observers," but this perhaps makes the Nicaraguan participation all the more significant.
- 13 Barricada (Managua), 4 and 5 July 1981
- 14 V. V. Zagladin (ed.), The World Communist Movement, o. cit., p. 359 (OUO)
- 15 Ledeen and Romerstein, op. cit., pp. 26-2 and 29-2
- 16 Ibid., p. 2-8
- 17 See Richard F. Staar (ed.), 1983 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs (Stanford: 1983), pp. 394-397, for a discussion of front policy
- 18 Ibid., p. 396
- 19 See Richard F. Staar (ed.), 1984 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs (Stanford: 1984), pp. 428-434, for a listing of current front leaders. Also, see CIA/DDO, Latin American Regional Fronts and Key Leftist Latin American National Labor Unions, July 1983, (CIR-316/03740-83) p. 13.
- 20 See CIA/DDO, Latin American Regional Fronts, July 1984, (CIR-316/02959-84) pp. 2-12 and El Pueblo (Guaycquil), 15-21 June 1984
- 21 Ledeen and Romerstein, op. cit., pp. 1-9 through 1-19, 35-2
- 22 Ibid., pp. 17-2, 28-1 through 28-5